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The effectiveness of organizations for citizen participation in school affairs depends on their influence in effecting school policies and decisions, and on their stability for sustained influence. In Atlanta, neither citizen initiated (Southern Leadership Conference) nor school initiated (Committee of 100) system-wide mechanisms have been very effective according to these criteria. At the local school or neighborhood level, the two major citizen initiated (Vine City Foundation and Perry Homes Tenants Association) and the major school initiated (the "Principal as Politician") mechanisms have met uneven success. In Huntsville, Alabama, the major citizen mechanism (Association of Huntsville Area Companies, or AHAC) has been very effective because (1) it is run by responsible community leaders, (2) it has faced and dealt with fundamental issues and problems, and (3) it enjoys the confidence of the school system. The AHAC pattern can be installed in other cities. At the local level in Huntsville, citizen participation activities are generally restricted to the Educational Improvement Program (EIP) and Federally sponsored special programs. Administrators of these programs seem to be intent on going beyond minimal program specifications for eliciting citizen involvement. (HW)

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CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL AFFAIRS IN TWO SOUTHERN CITIES*

by

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This presentation examines "Citizen Participation in School Affairs in Two Southern Cities," and is organized around the following topical areas: (1) a discussion of the two cities, (2) school system-wide citizen participation: citizen initiated, (3) school system-wide citizen participation: school initiated, (4) local school or neighborhood citizen participation: citizen initiated, and (5) local school or neighborhood citizen participation: school initiated. The presentation will conclude with a discussion of effectiveness in citizen participation, and suggest some clues for inaugurating effective citizen participation mechanisms. Not all citizen participatory mechanisms that are practiced in the two cities are described. Rather, I have selected those mechanisms that seem to have a potential for effectiveness and some that have exemplary features for possible installation in other cities.

The two southern cities included in these discussions are Atlanta, Georgia, and Huntsville, Alabama. Data were collected, primarily through interviews and examining assorted printed materials. These cities were selected for examination

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The data contained in this paper were collected by Arliss Roaden (College of Education) and James Andrews (Department of Political Science), The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, in August and September, 1968.

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because of information prior to the study that citizens were in some ways involved in school or school-related activities.

ATLANTA

Atlanta is the center of a five county area designated by the U. S. Bureau of the Census as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. With an estimated population in 1967 of 1,242,000, it is 21st in the country in number of residents. The population has grown 21 per cent since 1960. The white population is about 78 per cent of the total.

The city of Atlanta had an estimated population of 513,200 in 1967, up from 487,455 in 1960. About 55 per cent of the population is white.

The Atlanta Public School system has a geographic jurisdiction coincident with the city. The system operates 156 schools this year--24 high schools, 3 at an intermediate level, 121 elementary schools, and 8 special schools. Enrollment on the fourth day of the present school year was 106,613.

Between 1960 and 1967 the Atlanta Schools gained about 25,000 black students and lost 7,000 white students.

Citizen Initiated System-wide Participation

In Atlanta, citizen participation in system-wide school policy development and school operations is minimal, whether the participation be citizen initiated or school initiated.

The Summit Leadership Conference (SLC), whose leaders have been prominent nationally, was established in 1964, by representatives of more

than one hundred Negro organizations. It concerned itself with a wide variety of issues. In some situations, it was regarded by the Board of Education as representative of Negro opinion in Atlanta. The Board met occasionally with its leaders and tried to negotiate with it when troubles appeared. The conference has declined in support in the last year, however, and a united front among prominent Negroes may be a thing of the past.

In September, 1967, a group of Negroes protested school policies by disrupting a meeting of the Board of Education, staging a sit-in in the office of the superintendent of schools, and picketing several school buildings. The SLC then entered the dispute, presenting a list of twelve demands to the Board of Education. Six of the twelve requests were for factual data and these were promtply supplied by the school system. The others were more substantive and the Borad of Education was unable to come to terms with interested parties. The Community Relations Council, a municipal agency operating out of the Mayor's office, intervened in the dispute. The Council's intervention did not succeed in improving communication and understanding. The Council's intervention did not succeed in improving communication and understanding. The Council apparently did not enjoy the confidence of community leaders, and many people feel that the Council did not behave as an objective broker. The Chamber of Commerce, in an effort to mediate the problems, arranged for a meeting of all parties. The Chamber issued a statement commenting on each of the twelve demands, recommending

in some cases that the Board act favorably on them.

School Initiated System-wide Participation

A school initiated citizens group is the Committee of 100, a group of businessmen and civic leaders headed by the president of the Chamber of Commerce when the Chamber sought to arbitrate differences between SLC and the Board of Education. The Committee of 100 was formed when the superintendent of schools and the mayor asked ten leading citizens to help them build support for passage of a bond issue in an election a few years ago. There were other municipal bond issues on the ballot, and another citizens committee was asked to review these issues. The group of ten helped the superintendent establish priorities for construction of school facilities, in fact, changing the priority of some of the projects and vetoing others. The group of ten was later expanded to 100 and worked to win public support of the package in the election. While neither the smaller nor larger group has been active in school affairs on an organized basis since then, some individuals continue to be interested in the schools.

Citizen Initiated Neighborhood Participation

Effective citizen initiated participation at the local school or neighborhood level is rare. Two mechanisms, the Vine City Foundation and the Perry Homes Tenant Association, are the most prominent and are described briefly.

The Vine City Foundation

The Vine City Foundation was organized 5 to 10 years ago to protest racial discrimination and inadequate public facilities and services in medical treatment, housing, employment, consumer protection, law enforcement, and other areas. In its early years, the Foundation was engaged in what its present executive director calls "social action". Its methods included picketing and boycotts. The Foundation's founder was a white Quaker, who had moved from the north to Vine City, an old and well-known Negro slum 54 blocks square, just west of downtown Atlanta. The founder has since moved away from Atlanta.

The Foundation operates a number of programs of its own. Among them are medical and dental clinics, a cooperative grocery store, free day care center for children of working mothers, a handcrafts program for adults and teen-agers, tutoring for children with reading deficiencies, study halls for school children, and athletics. Most notable in the educational field is a nursery school for children 3 to 5 years old; 49 children were enrolled in September.

These activities are housed in two adjacent houses, ramshackle in appearance, and a cinder-dirt yard next door.

The Foundation has apparently never made an effort to change school

policies. Many Vine City children drop out of school; some never attend at all. The Executive Director observed that the neighborhood school has always been a "foreign land", where attention was given to middle and upper class Negroes, but not poor children from Vine City.

The new principal of the public elementary school, located just three blocks from the Foundation, and the director of the community school are trying to make the schools more a part of the community, and to encourage lay participation, but with little success. The Foundation Little League team prefers its own lot to the better-equipped school yard, and the Foundation continues its own study halls at night, although the school library is now open for evening study.

Perry Homes Tenants Association

Another citizen initiated mechanism at the neighborhood level is the Perry Homes Tenants Association. Perry Homes, with about 1000 units, is the largest public housing development in Atlanta. It is located some distance from downtown Atlanta -- about 30 minutes by bus. During much of the time since it opened in the arly 1950's, Perry Homes children (all Negro) have attended schools operating on double sessions and with limited facilities. Parents and other interested residents of the area have prodded the school board to build more schools; to add libraries, shop facilities, and cafeterias in schools where they were not provided initially; and to provide Title I programs, and other special services for a low-income, educationally-poor neighborhood.

The prominent leader in this citizen effort first attended a meeting of the Board of Education in 1955, in order to request that her son be transferred to a less crowded school. (She and some other Perry Homes parents sent their children to schools in other parts of the city for a year and a half after that.) Since then she has attended Board meetings and called on Board members and administrators at every level of the school administration. "She has been," one administrator says, "a thorn in the side of many principals." She has acted in her own behalf and at various times as spokesman for unorganized groups of mothers, for PTA when she was its president a few years ago, and now as an officer of the Perry Homes Tenants Association. She is the first woman to be president of the Association.

A bond issue to be voted this fall includes money for an addition to the High School in the Perry Homes area. This decision apparently resulted from neighborhood pressure. On one occasion, the Board of Education held a Board meeting in the community to hear the citizens express their concerns. Despite a reduction in Title I, ESEA, funds for pre-kindergarten programs, the number of programs was increased from five in 1967, to six in 1968. The sixth program was established in the Perry Homes community following consistently applied pressures from the community.

School Initiated Neighborhood Participation

The school initiated participatory mechanism--although it's more of an activity than a mechanism--I've called it "The Principal as Politician".

A new middle school opened in the fall of 1967. In this school, citizen participation is generated by the principal, a vigorous community leader. The building is new and its program is unusual. It features team-teaching, non-graded classes, and independent study. The 940 pupils--all Negro--study at grade levels 2 through 8, but their ages correspond to those normally in grades 6 and 8. The principal says that the existence of the school and its programs are "exactly what we wanted" and were "one of our main purposes" for being.

The principal, a leader in what is generally called the East Lake neighborhood of Atlanta, lives across the city on the west side; but has worked in schools in the East Lake area for about seven years, most recently, as principal at another elementary school. He has been a teacher, coach, and principal in Atlanta schools for twenty-two years. His parents and five of his eight children were and are teachers.

The principal cites other achievements besides the new middle school. Among them are: Another new school six blocks away from the Middle School, a one-year-old park three blocks away, a community center financed by Equal Opportunity-Atlanta (EOA--the umbrella OEO agency) location of Atlanta's first parent-child center nearby, a new state legislative district to give Negro representation to the community, an adult education program at his school, a Head Start program at a nearby school, peaceful integration of the local high school (Atlant'a first integrated school) in 1962, peaceful integration of an elementary school, and $18,000 for a new sewer "down the hill from here". The community's

needs are still not satisfied. "We want a new aldermanic district, improvements in sewers and street lighting and paving, and a new or larger school to supplement the Middle School." There is a shanty town two blocks from the school. "Well, we're going to tear that down."

When the principal talks about "we", he means the community in which he works and several organizations which he leads. 'The type of person in this neighborhood likes leadership--to tell them and encourage them."

One organization is the Second Ward Civic League. Its only officer is a president (the same man has held the job since the beginning); the principal calls himself the League's "adviser". The League was organized five to ten years ago because "we need a group to talk to the mayor, county commissioners, and other public officials". Education is only one of the League's concerns, as the list above indicates. Its members are white and black residents and non-resident businessmen, churches, and "bootleggers--the total community", he says. The League has no formal memberships. It meets at the call of the chairman, sometimes monthly. A meeting held in August, 1968, attracted 150 people.

The Civic League worked for the Middle School along with the PTA, the only school-oriented organization in the neighborhood. The principal says that 400 to 500 parents attend his PTA meetings. They have raised money on a continuing basis for band instruments and uniforms, among other things.

The principal maintains contact with the community through the PTA, the adult education program, programs for parents (such as conferences before school

opens and scheduled teacher-parent interviews when report cards are issued), use of school facilities by non-school groups (teas, fashion shows and discussion meetings have been held by churches and other groups), and visiting churches, business, and homes ("There is not a home in this community--in ten miles--that I haven't visited").

The PTA and the Civic League direct their attention to various individuals, private groups, and public offices and officers. It had a program to explain the integration program to white parents in the area. Churches, the Urban League, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have been drawn into League and (presumably) PTA efforts. Support has been asked from the mayor, board of aldermen, DeKalb County Commission, county health department, EOA--"We've gone everywhere but to the Governor."

For school matters in particular, the principal says he (and whomever he gets to support him) directs his attention to several places. In general, he says, he maintains good relations with one school board member from the Second Ward. He tries to keep the superintendent informed of his chief concerns. When he wanted the new school, he and a group from the Civic League called on the superintendent.

The principal says, "If you communicate your needs and problems, you get things sooner." He says, "We present our needs, without temper, quietly... We don't demand anything; we just say this is our need."

Huntsville

Huntsville, Alabama is an atypical city of its size. The population is continuing to soar at a time when many cities of more than 100,000 in size are on the decline. In 1950, the population was 16,437; in 1960, it had increased 340 percent to 72,365; and today the estimated population is in excess of 150,000. The 1950 land area of 4.71 square miles has now expanded to 106 square miles.

About 10 percent of the population are black and about 15 percent are economically disadvantaged, with attendant problems. Although about 10 percent of the population would be classified as functionally illiterate, a vast proportion of the people are highly skilled and well educated.

Prominent industries are George C. Marshall Space Flight Center (NASA) and the Army Missile Command. These two industries employ some 40,000 people and have an annual payroll of more than $200 million. Industrialization, as a rule, has been highly technical and scientific.

The Huntsville Public School system has an enrollment of 32,714 in 36 schools. Black students comprise 9.7 percent of the total. The school system has grown to its present size from a 1950 enrollment of 3,000 in six buildings.

Citizen Initiated System-wide Participation

Association of Huntsville Area Companies

The Association of Huntsville Area Companies (AHAC), organized in 1963 because of concerns about equal employment opportunity, emerged quickly as a community structure for promoting equal educational opportunity.

AHAC began as an organization of 16 Huntsville companies; but today 41 companies representing approximately 18,000 employees, comprise the organization.

In response to Federal legislation and President Kennedy's Executive Order calling for equal employment opportunity, some local business executives were prompted to join together, into what later became AHAC, to move ahead with the task of insuring compliance with the legislation and Executive Order. Ninety percent of Huntsville's economy reportedly is dependent on federal contracts. There are now, hoever, some new industries moving in that are not related to space programs. In 1964, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration told of the difficulties in recruiting engineers for the George C. Marshall Spaceflight Center because of Alabama's reputation on race relations, and they hinted that the facilities could be moved out of the state.

Businessmen, through the formation of AHAC, were intent that racial prejudices would not impair the economy of Huntsville. AHAC defined its objectives in unambiguous terms:

> "The objectives of the Association are to translate policies and directives relative to equal employment opportunity into positive programs and to render mutual assistance in the implementation of such programs on a timely basis.
>
> "There are five broad areas in which AHAC functions as it seeks to accomplish its aims and objectives. These are Employment, Education, Housting, Community Relations and Community Services." [1]

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1 The Association of Huntsville Area Companies, AHAC Objectives, mimeographed report.

AHAC company representatives (approximately 70 persons) meet monthly as does its nine-man Executive Committee. A professional staff of four directs program activities. As AHAC began its work to prepare disadvantaged residents for employment, they discovered that the problems of matching disadvantaged adults, many of whom had been employed in the cotton processing industries, with technical, engineering, and related jobs, were complex indeed. Remedial classes in English, mathematics, vocabulary, speech, electronics, algebra, and spelling were offered by industry and taught primarily by qualified personnel from the participating companies and corporations. AHAC, using the Manpower Development and Training Act, provided classes in data processing, digital computer education and programming, secretarial skills, soldering, wiring, drafting, and auto mechanics. Students from local high schools and colleges were given an opportunity to develop their skills in actual job situations through an AHAC-initiated co-op program. The students were able, through the program, to better relate their classroom experiences to the realities of on-the-job situations. Student scholarships, direct grants to area institutions, gifts of needed equipment and teaching aids, loans of competent personnel, all came from AHAC's member firms to support instructional programs, broaden and strengthen faculty capabilities and provide the means for educating persons whose own means were less than adequate.

To qualify Negroes for employment, AHAC conducted numerous orientation programs through its member firms and in cooperation with the Alabama Employment Services. Under its auspices, commercial teachers in schools with predominantly Negro enrollment participated in several evaluation sessions with employment officials, discussing problems encountered by minority job applicants.

They became concerned about the educational program in disadvantaged schools that produces unemployable persons. All of the remediation, orientation, and job training programs proved to be helpful, but inadequate. Thus, intensive involvement in the public school program became a reality.

Educational Improvement Project

AHAC worked with the Madison County and Huntsville School Systems and institutions of higher education in designing an early childhood education program, known as Educational Improvement Program (EIP). The genesis of this program, which was subsequently funded for five years by a 2.7 million dollar Ford Foundation grant, came from AHAC.

A representative of AHAC, the manager of IBM, is a member of the EIP Advisory Committee. In addition, AHAC has designated a three-man support committee that can be called on for technical and other specialized skills and services.

Other Educational Programs Involving AHAC

Another major school program in which AHAC played a planning and developmental role was "Project Follow Through". This program, funded by USOE, effective in 1968, is a follow-through of EIP children.

Project SCORE (School Counselor Orientation Reassessment-Enrichment), a unique special project for school counselors was conceived and directed by AHAC.

TVEC (Tennessee Valley Education Center), an ESEA title III, professional improvement and curriculum development project serving 13 counties of Northern Alabama, and administered through the Huntsville School System involved AHAC as a principal agent in conceptualizing and preparing the program proposal.

In addition to the specific educational programs already noted, AHAC, in 1968 was engrossed in: (1) A comprehensive survey of educational problems for resource allocating decisions, (2) survey of available private and public aid programs, (3) continued exploration and implementation of possible areas of cooperation

between local educational institutions, (4) promotion and continued expansion of EIP and TVEC programs, (5) cooperation with schools in development of resource personnel file for classroom enrichment, and (6) development of "Making Education Relevant" project.

In their 1967 Report, AHAC indicated that:

> A survey made prior to AHAC's organization revealed that few products of the Community's schools hold status jobs in the missile and space industry - the very lifeline of our community. Limited teacher experience, a student's own narrow concept of subject matter, and his lack of orientation with the working world were found to be among the chief causes. Our goal was - as it is today - to try, with other's help, to upgrade education, both in quality and quantity.

How AHAC Began

All persons who reflect on the genesis of AHAC pay tribute to one man, a native of Huntsville, who fathered and nutured the idea. He was the leadership person in organizing the Association, and he gave leadership to developing the early programs as the Association's first president. He had been in the Cotton business when that was the major industry of Huntsville. When the industrialization of Huntsville changed, he became President, and later Chairman of the Board of a major engineering company. (AHAC executive officers were first housed in the facilities of his engineering company). Obviously, this community leader has a great personal and financial investment in Huntsville, and could have been motivated to organize AHAC to protect the economy of the community from racial relations problems that had earlier beset Birmingham and Selma, and continues to plague cities throughout the Country. However, one is not long in his presence until he recognizes a quiet, modest gentleman who is unequivocally committed to equality of opportunity

for Black people and all other people who for whatever reason are captives of society.

Through this leader's efforts and influence, an exceptionally able Executive Director of AHAC was employed, a Negro, who is a former university administrator, and has advanced graduate work in Economics. Immediately, the Executive Director's intellect and leadership were visable in AHAC and in the community. He is now a member of "dozens" of community boards and committees.

Although the creator and first president of AHAC is currently an ex-officio member of AHAC's Executive Committee, he has been intent that the Association not become known as his organization; to that end, he has looked to others for Association leadership, and AHAC now has a suite of offices in the new State National Bank building.

Relationship of AHAC and the Huntsville Schools

The relationships between AHAC and the school system are characterized by harmony and mutual respect. Since relationships between a network of industries and the schools are not typically so mutually supportive as is the case in Huntsville, a more intensive examination of how such came about is important. These fine relationships were established during the final planning stages of the Educational Improvement Program (EIP).

There was little publicity on EIP until after the contract was awarded; thus, only those involved with the proposal development understood implications of the program. One member of AHAC was appointed by City Council to the Board of Education during the final stages of development of the proposal. He and the

Superintendent of Schools informed the Board members of all aspects of the proposal and gained their unanimous endorsement. There had been some uneasiness expressed initially by the Board about fiscal and space commitments of the School System; and there had been some differences of opinion about whether the School System would administer the program, or whether AHAC would, or whether the EIP Advisory Committee would. It was concluded that the City School System should administer the program.

Following the inauguration of this major program, relationships between AHAC and the schools were well established. The two enterprises have mutual commitments for equal educational opportunity. Ford had mandated that EIP not be segregated in any way. Thus a mixed student body of 500 five year olds and a mixed faculty of 23 teachers and 22 teacher aides made quite an impact on other programs in the 12 schools where EIP was conducted. Many people believe that EIP made possible the rather rapid strides that have been made in student and faculty integration. Unquestionably,collaborative programs between AHAC and the schools, such as SCORE (the counselor program), Follow Through, and TVEC (the Title III program) come naturally now.

It should be noted that these excellent relationships between industry and the schools came about not because the schools had a program idea for which they solicited assistance and support from industry, but rather the reverse was the case.

Apart from AHAC, School System-wide participatory mechanisms are few. The Chamber of Commerce Education Committee has sponsored a business and industry fair for students in the Huntsville area, and they sponsor a community

orientation program for new teachers.

There is now, a Citizens Study Committee conducting an assessment of school quality in Huntsville. That committee, although appointed by the Board of Education, was established in compliance with a 1967 statute of the Alabama Legislature which called for Citizen Study Committees for all school systems. That Committee is just getting underway and has no products to manifest, however the School Board anticipates a responsible job with many helpful recommendations.

Neighborhood Citizen Participation

At the local school and neighborhood levels, citizen participation activities are generally restricted to EIP and federally sponsored special programs. Here, participation is school initiated as a part of the program objectives. Administrators of these programs seem to be intent on going beyond minimal program specifications for eliciting citizen involvement.

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION MECHANISMS

In my identification and description of citizen participation in Atlanta and Huntsville, I have discussed two levels of participation, system-wide and neighborhood; also I have focused both on participatory mechanisms initiated by school officials and those initiated by citizens independently of the school system but which influence the schools.

The quality of effectiveness of participatory mechanisms can be viewed in two ways. First, how influential is the mechanism for effecting school policies and school operating decisions? Second, what is the stability of the mechanism

for sustained influence. For example, is it dependent on one or two particularly influential persons? Or, can the mechanism be replicated or transplanted in other communities where it will enjoy about the same level of effectiveness?

In Atlanta, the Southern Leadership Conference and the Committee of 100 were described as system-wide mechanisms -- the first citizen initiated, and the second, school initiated (please recall that the Committee of 100 was initiated in part by the Mayor). Both mechanisms have affected only modestly school decisions. Perhaps they have to some extent "opened up" the system for easier access by citizens. In my judgment, both mechanisms fail to meet one or both of the criteria for effectiveness. Perhaps a major impediment to sustained influence is a belief on the part of the school administration that system-wide citizen advice and participation should be on an ad hoc basis rather than through standing committees or councils.

At the local school or neighborhood level, I described two mechanisms that were citizen initiated (the Vine City Foundation and the Perry Homes Tenants Association) and one mechanism that was school initiated (the "Principal as Politician"). The Vine City Foundation meets my criteria as a "potential" for effectiveness, but it is noteworthy that the Foundation has virtually "written off" the schools as being relevant to the community. The Perry Homes Tenants Association has influenced school operating decisions but its strength seems to be tied to the influence of one leader. So it is with the "Principal as a Politician." Here, the effectiveness of school and community change is determined by the interest and personal charisma of the principal. The principal is not a young upstart; he had been in the system more than 20 years. There may be an important lesson here

germane to the selection and training, especially in-service training, of principals.

In Huntsville, the participatory mechanisms described were the Association of Huntsville Area Companies (AHAC), the Legislature initiated Citizens Study Committee, and at the neighborhood level, citizen participation components of special programs. My criteria of effectiveness prompt me to concentrate here only on AHAC, although the others are noteworthy.

I described at length, AHAC, its purposes, its organization, its programs and its genesis, because effectiveness is clearly established. AHAC has several unique features: (1) it was conceived, designed, and is run by citizens -- highly responsible community leaders; (2) it has faced and dealt with fundamental issues and problems; and (3) it enjoys the confidence of and partnership with the school system; yet it is neither a super-board nor a creature of the Board of Education. As easy, though erroneous, explanation for AHAC's success is to point to in-migration of well-educated persons, and assume they challenged traditional values and set about to remake the community. Rarely do middle-class in-migrants have a significant voice in altering community mores. Rather, significant decisions are made by natives and long-term residents of the community.

The AHAC Pattern can be installed in other cities. I predict that with an honest self-assessment of educational problems by city school officials, responsible and genuinely concerned citizens from all walks of life and from institutions with diverse purposes will rally around the cause of educational improvement. A concerned citizenry that devotes its resources and talents toward solving problems of education may be the hope of our cities.

In conclusion, some general observations may be helpful. One relevant question about both of these cities that could be asked is, "Why aren't groups of citizens raising questions about neighborhood control of schools"? One black leader in Atlanta, who has held leadership roles in major northern cities, observed that Southern traditions of docility of black men will prevail for many years. For example, the influence of the Atlanta-based SLC under the leadership of the late Martin Luther King was felt throughout the world; but in Atlanta SLC's influence appears to be minimal.

A black dentist, who lives in Huntsville "shook up" the Alabama Democratic Party, and his leadership at the National Democratic Convention was not taken lightly. (Even the Chicago police felt obliged to arrest him). Yet, in his home-town, he has not generated vigorous community action. His wife, however, does attend Board of Education meetings, and she frequently raises questions. Her questions and comments are not taken lightly by the Board.

Another observation has to do with the power structure. These Southern cities seem to lend themselves to elitist manifestations of power. For example, the Huntsville native who created AHAC exemplifies the elitist power of a city father; the political minded principal in the East Lake neighborhood of Atlanta is in a community climate that nurtures and responds to his leadership, even though he resides across town; and, the mayor of Atlanta has enjoyed a responsiveness to his leadership that is unusual in cities with similar complexities.

Finally, school district decentralization is an idea that is gaining momentum. How has the idea manifested itself in these two cities? In Huntsville, not at all; but the Atlanta system has for several years been decentralized administratively.

The system is divided into five geographic areas, each with an area superintendent. However, organizationally, area superintendents are viewed as members of the central administration. Until a few years ago, each area superintendent had a committee of laymen to advise him. One present member of the Board became interested in the schools as a member of such a group. The groups gradually went out of existence, however, because, according to the General Superintendent, there was no sustained interest among the groups.

All forms of citizen participation require nurturance. If nurturance does not come from the schools, then it must come from another agency or an influential leader or constellation of leaders. For effective citizen participation, as is the case of AHAC, there can be no ambivalence about objectives and values of the participator agency or its sponsor.